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MADRAS MAIL,

29th February, 1912.

INDIANS IN FIJI.

As Madras supplies Fiji with a large proportion of the Indian emigrants, who go there as indentened labourers, the Annual Reports of the Fiji Agent-General of Immigration possess interest for people in this Presidency. the latest report is for the year 1910, and the "General remarks" of the author with which it concludes are as follows:-- "The returns comprised in this Report indicate that satisfactory progress is made by the Indian immigrant in this colony. The time expires immigrant rarely seeks re engagement as a plantation labourer, but on completion of his term of indenture he has little difficulty in leasing from the Indian or European owner sufficient land for his requirements, and is able, by cultivating rice, benanas, tebacco and other crops, for which there is a steady and remunerative market, to ensure a sufficient and not too ardous means of livelihood for himself and his family, That the opportunities for advancement, in the colony are considered advantageous is shown by the small proportion of immigrants entittled to a free return passage to India who annually elect to avail themselves of such right". An examination of the returns shows that this picture is not overdrawn. The Indian immigrant population on the 31st December 1910, numbered 39, 341 as compared with 30,920 in 1907. In 1910 the proportion of females to males (adults) was 41061 to 100, and during the year there were 1,497 births (exclusive of still births) and 1,013 deaths -a death rate of 24.96 per mille, which was higher than in the previous year and the highest since 1903, and is attributed to "a wave of epidemic dysentry which passed throughout the Colony affecting all classes of the native population "During the year 100 persons were committed for trial to the supreme court in 69 cases with the results of 71 convictions and six acquittals, prosecution being dropped in the cases of the remaining 23

murders, in which eight of the ten persons indicated were convicted and executed.

Of the 39,314 Indians in the colony 12,757 were under indenture, to which number new arrivals during the year contributed, 3,728. There were 597 immigrants serving under reindenture, 149 completed theirs reindenture and 283 males reindentured for periods of one to three years with bounty. Under the Masters and Servants ordinance, 201 immigrants were engaged, 70 of them as mill hands for the crushing season at wages of 1s.3d. a day. Wages for household on general servants vary from £9 to £42 a year, with or without good. On the estates the wages for a full day's work (nine hours) or a full task steady work are 1s. for a man, a woman's task and wage being three-fourths of a man's wages. There was a decrease in the prosecution for breaches of the labour law, the number of persons prosecuted being fewer by 13 percent, than in 1909, the total percentage to the adult population in 1910 being 9.60 as compared with 10.94 in 1909 and 12-53 in 1908. The condition of immigrants' dwellings, the sanitation of cooly lives, and the water supply received the caeful attention of the Inspectors of the Emigration Department and the district medical officers with good results. The Report states that "owing to the prohibition of Polynesian immigration in 1910 a larger number of Indian immigrants will be required by areas of plantations where Polynasians were formerly employed (manily cocoanut plantations)" and adds that "Indians do well as satisfactory workers as Polinesians". The number of Indian immigrants repatriated during 1910 was 445, of whom 369 were passengers for Calcutta and 76 for Madras, and the declared value of the money and valuables. brought back by 160 returned emigrants of families was £8,470 in round numbers, on an average of £42 per emigrant.

~~During~~ Turning to the larger and increasing section of the Colony's Indian population, the "free" immigrants, that is those who, after serving their indentures, have elected to remain in the Colony and have ~~mayed~~ merged in the general population, numbered 26,537 on the 31st December, 1910. Many of them have settled down as cultivators and cattle breeders renting land either from native owners or direct from the Government, who fourteen years ago instituted an Indian settlements Fund with the object of securing and preparing land for the occupancy of Indian settlers, the land so acquired being let of moderate rents. Others are employed as domestic servants, or as labourer in towns or in public works, or are engaged in retail trading. There were about 20,000 ~~crores~~ acres of land under cultivstion (sugarcane, rice, mize, Bananas, Beans, tobacco and other produce) by these free immigrants, who also owned a considerable quantity of ~~line~~ live stock During the year, 4, 129 trade licences were issued, including 16 for whole sale and retail stores, 1,144 for retail stores, 65 for hawkers, 8 for bakers, 7 for shooting gallaries and are for a photograhper.

Deposits are made by the Indian immigrants in the local Banks through the Immigration Department, and during the year 314 deposits were made, the total sum at fixed deposits were at the end of 1910 being £13,186 representing an average sum for each deposit of £42. The "annual Balance of savings at Bank deposit," we are told in the Report, "has not ~~naturally~~ materially varied in the past few years. In this Colony it is not the tendency of the Indian settler to keep his money in the Bank, but rather to utilise it by improving his holding, or in the purchase of stock, or in trade", The amount remitted by Indian Immigrants to their friends in India through the Treasury during 1910 was £3,146 ~~sat~~ sent to 620 persons. The remittances by Madras Immigrants

amounted to £697 by 101 remitters Lord Sanderson's Committee, in its Report on Indian emigration to the ~~brass~~ Crown Colonies recently presented to Parliament, said of Fiji:-- We see no reason to doubt, that the indentured labourers are, as a whole, fairly and justly treated in all material respects, and that the Colony is disposed to welcome them as free settlers on the expiry of their indenture and to accond them equal rights of citizenship, After reading the Report for 1910, one can easily concern.

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MADRAS MAIL,

24th March, 1912.

EMIGRATION FROM MADRAS.

The report of the Board of Revenue on Indentured and free Emigration from the Madras Presidency during the year 1911 presents some interesting features. Emigration to Natal was stopped by the Government of India on the 30th June, but during the six months that it was legal no less than 2,970 emigrants left for that colony. Emigrants to Trinidad and Fiji was carried on intermittently during the year, but during the period that the recruiting of labour was active, 1,315 and 2,091 labourers left for these Colonies, respectively; There was no emigration to Mouritical on the Seychelles, which at one time took a large number of Indian labourers nor was there any to the French Colonies. Natal returned 1,627 emigrants whose savings amounted to Rs.2,29,400. Mouritins 208 with Rs.2,870, Fiji 101 with Rs.7,465 and the French settlements of Reunion 37th Rs.520 Next to Natal, Fiji seems to be the Colony in which Indian labourers are able to save money against their return to their native country.

With regard to the free or non regulated emigration the increase in the number of passengers, noted in the previous year was continued in 1911, no less 109,180 labourers enbarking for the Straits settlements as compared with 85,015 in 1910. This was due to the higher rates of wages prevailing in the straits settlements and the rubber plantations of the Malay States. Large as these figures are, we understand that the demand for labour, especially in correction with the rubber industry, is so great that it was decided at the end of last year to grant free passages and other inducements to attract South Indian Labour to the rubber Plantations of Malaysia. If this has been done, it is probably that the number in the current year will show

an increase over last year's record. With regard to Burma ad and Ceylon, it is difficult to distinguish between genuine emigrants and ordinary passengers. The increase in the numbers proceeding to Burma was chiefly from Madras city and from Ganjam and was due to the favourable rice crops in Burma and the consequent demand for labour. The drain to Ceylon was not as heavy as usual, to decrease occuring chiefly in Tanjore, Ramnad and Tinnevelly, and is ascribed to the restrictions placed by the Ceylon Government on the shipping of passengers from ports infected by plague on cholera. How large was the falling off in Ceylon may be judged from the fact that 15,976 passengers emigrated to other parts of British India as compared with 21,111 in 1910. Burma seems to possess attractions for Indian labourers, because less of them than usual returned to their Homes though the reasons given are that the seasons were unfavourable in India and the steamer fare was increased. There was a decrease, too, in the number of return emigrants from Ceylon, but the increase from the straits settlements is due to more frequent inter communication between the Madras ports and Singapore and their rapidly increasing body of labourers who are only too anxious to go there and reap the harvest of good wages that prevail. It is satisfactory to know that as far as indentured emigration was concerned, the arrangements at the recruting depots were on the whole satisfactory, and that no sickly on diseased persons are allowed to emigrate. Some years ago a complaint was received from Natal that cerebro-spinal fever had been introduced into that colony by emigrants from India, but in view of the strict medical inspection that takes place under the Act an Indian ports of embarkation, it is hardly likely that this was the case.

MADRAS MAIL,
26th March, 1912.

INDIANS IN THE EMPIRE.

We publish today an article by Mr.H.S.Polak, the well known worker on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, dealing with the difficult, delicate and very important question of the status.of Indians in the Empire. If we are not in full agreement with him on some points, we share a dissatisfaction which is general in this country with the present treatment of Indians by the selfgoverning Dominians, and the proposal for a serious attempt to settle the question by an Imperial Conference is one we have ourselves to made on several occasions. It is imperative that some understanding should be established in the near future, forth difficulties of the position can only increase in the observe of such an understanding. The consolidation of the Empire is in progress of a rate which must before long result in some more difinite Imperial Lord between Great Britain and the self Governing Dominions, whether tariff reform provides the tie or not. Where the self-governing dominions assure their share of the responsibilities of Imperial defence, they necessarly acquire a greater and monedire its interest in British foreign policy, since that must determine the employment of the Dominion's forces in war. That alone would suffice to bring about a more clearly defined Imperial system so far as great Britain and the self governing Dominions are concerned. Apart from this, in many ways the Empire is being drawn closer together. On the other hand, India is moving towards a future in which she will play a much more important part in the Empire. There is thus a danger that questions not settled in principle in the near future may become impossible of settlement because the rather loose and undefined Imperial system may have developed and hardened in such a way as to preclude alteration of the kind desired. It is while development is in progress that there is the

best chance of effecting a settlement.

There is little hope of a solution of the problem of Indians in the Empire which would be quite satisfactory to all concerned, but it is for India and the self-governing Dominions to consider the alternative. Nobody can suppose that the present state of affairs can be prolonged indefinitely without causing estrangement, and such estrangement as would be gravely detrimental to all Imperial interests. An Australian writer, some months ago asked to be informed what was meant by the Empire before Australia assumed more Imperial obligations, for the Empire, if we remember his phrases, contained troglodytes and cannibals and others in the lowest ranks of the human race as well as those in the highest. It would, indeed, be wise to have a more definite understanding of what the Imperial ideal is, but it is folly to talk as if there were any alternatives to the full assumption of Imperial obligations but ruin or absorption. As regards India, there is no question of asking the self-governing Dominions to recognise more than the elemantary rights of fellow subjects, and if the issues can be clearly presented we may hope for a real agreement on some minimum to which every race and country in the Empire shall be entitled from every other.

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MADRAS MAIL,

8th May, 1912.

THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

The 19th Madras Provincial Conference was opened today at Kumbakonam with an Address by Rao Bahadur V.R. Ramanujachari, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in which, after some references to the Royal visit, the speaker made an appeal for united action in the service of "national causes". The Hon'ble Mr.T.V.Seshagiri Iyer then delivered his Presidential address, which though it suffers from the vague enthusiasms that pervade too much of the literature of Indian politics, contains a good deal of note-worthy xxxxxx criticisms.xxxx Acknowledgement of the substantial benefits of the reforms and of the more recent administrative changes is ungrudging, though there is no lack of criticism of their real or supposed defects.

The question of Provincial antonomy naturally engaged Mr.Seshagiri Iyer's when the contradictory interpretations by the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State of the paragraph on this subject in the Government of India's Despatch first appeared, we ventured to predict a great deal of confussion. The preduction has been amply fulfilled. We find all sorts of extravagent hopes being founded on a statement of policy which Lord Crewe declared meant nothing in particular and which Mr.Montagu hailed as a most significant summary of Principles. Mr.Seshagiri Iyer declines to consider which at the previous interpretations is corect. He confines himself to indicating two principles which he wishes to be applied to the relations between the Government of India and local Governments. In the first place, he urges that where there is any devolution of authority to Local Governments, the exercise of powers so developed should be subject to the control of the Provincial council. Much depends upon what is understood by control. The local governments will certainly be as much influenced by Provincial

Councils, he is destined to be disappointed. His second principle is that where the local government aid the Provincial Legislative Council are agreed, the Government of India ~~ampgt,~~ ought, as a rule, to raise no obstacle to the adoption of the policy agreed upon. This of course, is sound enough. Of financial autonomy we will not say anthing far, as will be seen from a telegram in another column, important developments are imminenet.

MADRAS MAIL,

25th June, 1912.

AUTONOMY IN INDIA.

The clear and important statement made by Lord Crewe in the course of the debate on the Government of India Bill yesterday is very welcome. We have repeatedly drawn attention to the wide spread misconception in this country of the third para in the Government of India's despatch on the subject of the changes announced at the coronation Darbar. That it was a misconception we felt almost certain for it was to us merely incredible that the Government of India could have meant what they wrote on the subject of Provincial autonomy; but we were bound to admit that the words they used were capable of the construction put on them by almost every Indian journal. After a reference to the problem of satisfying the just aspirations of Indians to a larger share in the Government of the country without inspairing the supreme authority of the Governor-general in Council, the Government of India wrote--The only possible solution of this difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all Provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern". Much, of course, depends on what is meant by "misgovernment" and by "matters of Imperial Concern," but there was excuse for those who greeted this passage as the announcement of a policy leading up to drastic decentralization whereby the Government of India would not interfere with Provincial Governments unless there were Scandalaus mismanagement and would confine themselves to Imperial affairs in the narrowest sense of the term.

When Mr.Montagu, Under Secretary for India, made

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his extraordinary speech at Cambridge discribing this statement of policy as a movel and beneficent declaration of principles, in the course of remarks on the utter absence of policy in Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, it could only be supposed that the passage indicated some most important departure. "The moderates look to us", Mr.Montagu said "to say what lies over future policy is to take. We have never answered them that, and we have put off answering them for too long. At last, and not too soon a Viceroy has had the courage to state the trend of policy in India, and the lines on which we suppose to advance." True, fine days earlier, on the 23rd February, Lord Crewe had informed the House of Lords that the third para of the Government of India's Despatch meant nothing in particular, not least nothing novel. It was merely, he explained roguely, an allusion to the continuance of a policy of decentralisation already being worked. There was no idea of a "settled policy" working up to "a federated system" in India. But the Government of India had distinctly referred to the future in terms suggesting rather around policy then a mere continuance of existing tendencies. In any case, the difference between the Secretary of State's interpretation and the subsequent interpretation by the Under Secretary was such as to make an explanation highly desirable, especially, as we urged, in view of the fact that Indian publicists were practically unanimous in taking the under Secretary's view.

Lord Crewe has at length spoken out Mainly. Referring to the Colonial self-government ideal cherished by many Indians, who, as he says, are altogether loyal, Lord Crewe says that he sees no future for India on those lines. "I think the experiment is one impossible to try; consequently, it is my duty, standing here as Secretary of State for India, to repudiate altogether that reading of the Despatch which implies anything of the kind, or that it is the hope or goal of the policy of His Mejasty's Ministers or

or the present Government of India". As Lord Curzon said, that is an emphatic and unmistakable repudiation of the interpretation placed on the third para of the government of India's Despatch. It is as plain and downright, we may add, as Lord Morley's declaration in introducing the council Reforms, that it was no ambition of his to have any share in setting up Parliamentary institutions in India":-- "If my existence, either officially or corporeally were to be prolonged twenty times longer than either is likely to be, a Parliamentary system in India is not at all the goal to which I would one moment aspire". Lord Morley, however, never allowed his under Secretary to produce interpretations which has subsequently to be repudiated, after they had greatly encouraged hopes which were raised by a Government of India Despatch. The whole incident is illustrative of a tendency to loose expression of vague benevolence which has been discernible in the communications between the Government of India and the Secretary of State throughout the years in which recent reforms have been under discussion, If disappointment now produces irritation in certain sections of Indian public men, the Government of India, Lord Crewe and Mr.Montagu will have only themselves to blame.

It is will, however, that an exaggerated ideal of Provincial autonomy and a visionary scheme of federation have been firmly repudiated by the Secretary of State. Colonial selfgovernment is an ideal quite compatiable with loyalty and actually cherished by many loyal Indians; but if it were possible to introduce such a system in a country in which the conditions are quite other than those obtaining in any self-governing colony; the result would inevitably be internal disaster and succession from the Empire. Colonial self-government presupposes a

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self-government presupposes a people by heredity, experience and other qualifications capable of managing their own affairs, sufficiently homogenous to require no neutral alien element to keep the balance, and predisposed to promote a civilisation essentially the same as that of the country which is the centre of the Empire. Not one of these conditions exists in India, and some of them will not, in all probability, evercome into existance. Were there ever to be inpower a British Ministry capable of such reckless and misguided benevolence as the concession of self-government in the Colonial sense to India, it would be compelled to impose numarous conditions on India to which no paralled is afforded by the self-governing Dominions, and with those conditions there would necessarily be an amount of ineffectual interference in Indian affairs that would course annoyance to the country without ensuing satisfaction to the Imperial government. It is possible for Indians to acquire in time a larger share in the Government of India under the existing system than could ever be given then under a system of colonial self-government for the weake. the hold of the Imperial Government on India, the more necessary would it be to limit the power of the Indian Government by all, sorts of restrictions. An Indian governing itself in the fullsense, as Australia does, is a dream which would never be realised. It is far better to have a moderate share in an unbetterd Government than the sole power in a government that would be fettered. This is the truth we would venture to impress on such Indians as many feel disappointed by Lord Creqe's repprediations of a policy supposed by them to be leading up to the concession in the distant future of some kind of Colonial self-government. There is another considera-tion. If, as is probable, the future will see closer organisation of the Empire, India will have a better chance of coming equitably into the Imperial system if she is still attached in the closest way to Great Britain.

Madras Mail,

21st August, 1913.

INDIA'S PROTECTED STATES.

The Parliamentary under Secretary for India made a pronouncement which is of great importance as indicating the intention of the Government to enter into a closer alliance with these pillars of the Empire. Lord ~~Luthon~~ Litton wished to forge a stronger link with them by forming an Advisary Council of the principle ~~Unless,~~ rulers but his proposal was too advanced for a House Government which visualised political dangers in it . The idea was ~~remind~~ revived more recently, but has not gone beyond the academic stage for the reasons disclosed in the Minte Morley despatches. However, the Viceroy who placed our representative institutions on their present basis was so impressed with the notion of fostering consultative relations between the Government and their great feudatories that he adopted the plan of obtaining their ~~news~~ views on points of interest through the medium of correspondence. Under his successor this wise policy has expanded to the assembling of occasional conferences of the chiefs as advisory allies matters touching their affairs. The first of these Synods sat in Delhi a few weeks ago, and the Maharaja of ~~Gruation~~ Gwalior voiced the feelings of his Conness by suggesting that conference need not be limitted to educational matters, but might be extended to more vital questions, but lacked opportunities for expressing them. It is evident from some of the sentences in his Budget oration that Mr. Montague was impressed by his recent vision of Protected India, for he said, amongst other appreciative comments, "these rulers loom large in the future. Those visiting them can gain many an opportunity for political speculation and instruction. Their rulers watch more and more, international and Imperial politics, and ~~we~~ vie with one another in ~~impressing~~ improving the condition of their administration and their synitation for effecient government".

Holding these sentiments and having had opportunities of exchanging views with the Viceroy the Parliamentary under Secretary was able to announce that the recent conference would be followed by others for the debate of subjects in which Princes and their people are not less interested than the inhabitants of British India. His declaration is so valuable that we quite the sentences in which it is framed. "Conferences", he said, "are to be held periodically at Delhi and Simla, to which ruling Princes will be invited, to give them opportunities for meeting one another and discussimg alternations in custom, practice and rule. The success which attended the conference at Delhi on education in the Native States shows what can be accomplished in this directinn". In Feudatory India this forecast of the intentions of Government will be regarded as the most important declaration of policy since Lord Minto outlined the relations with the States in his historic Udaipur speech, which was read with supreme satisfaction by every Durbar in India. Mr.Montagu's promise, doubtless made after a consultation with the Viceroy who is in full sympathy with it, signifies that the chiefs are within a measurable distance of realising their wist to be treated as actual colleagues and partners in a scheme of administration which is largely dependent on this fidelity and devotion to the brown. They have waited patiently and loyally for some demonstration of their value as personal assets, for there was no note of dissatisfaction or disappointment in the gualliar chiefs' proposition at the Delhi Conference, and they will presently have opportunities of proving the worth as supplementary advisers to the Governor-General, with whom they will come into closer association by this prospective arrangement.

It is a sagacious alternative to the council, which might not have been so advantageous as periodical conferences,

and is an event of the highest political importance, marking a mutuality ~~nutral ty~~ of interests, consolidating an alliance began when the Margins Wellesley was developing the Empire, and continued by successive Governors-General until it has reached the stage explained in Mr.Montagu's oration to the Commons.

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Madras Mail,

2nd September, 1913.

MADRAS AND REFORMS.

We may, we suppose, regard the opinions expressed at Saturday's meeting, held under the auspices of the Mahajana Sabha and the Provincial Congress Committee, as fairly representative of advanced Indian opinion in this Presidency. If that is so, much importance must attach to them quite apart from their intrinsic value, and no excuse will be required for dealing with the proceedings again and at greater length. It appears to us that the discussion of the seperation of judicial and executive functions was rather unprofitable. It is too late in the day to argue about the question in vague and general terms, to recommend or oppose the change on theoretical grounds. That the present system is in theory not quite satisfactory is officially and unofficially admitted, and we may concede the possibility that in actual working it is occassionally productive of some evil. To say more than that is to go further than facts warrent, nor is it necessary from the reformers' point of view. Since the government are prepared to consider tentative and limited seperation of Judicial and executive functions, what the reformers are now called upon to do is to produce some definite and practicable scheme we regret to say that we cannot discover in Saturday's speeches any indication that the gentlemen who were so eloquent an the subject have been at the pairs to think out any scheme.

One of the main problems involved is, of course, that of maintaining the district officers' authority and ability to deal with any crisis which may arise in his change. Deprived of his present judicial powers, the Collector must be at a serious dis-advantage in dealing with any grave and sudden development which manaces the tranquility of his district.

In other ways, too, he must lose some of his power and prestige. What do the reformers do towards illuminating this question? So far as Saturday's speeches are in question, nothing. They do nothing towards enabling us to understand exactly what machinery the High Court would need for the execution of its new tasks under a system which seperated judicial and executive functions. It is not our business to sketch out any scheme, for we are not enthusiastic for the seperation we recognise, however, that the time has come when some experiments under suitable conditions and the limitations necessary for administrative and financial reasons might be made. We will, therefore, say so much, that in our opinion, for the present and near future, it is desirable that there be no interference with the Collector's powers, but that a considerable measure of seperation below the collector might be effected. Of course this applies only to such a province as Madras. In some of the other Provinces, in the Punjab for example, the District officer might well be relieved of part of his wider judicial authority. Nothing like a uniform system is possible for all the Provinces, for they differ widely. What has to be done therefore is that in each Province those who are eager to bring about the seperation of judicial and executive functions ought to produce some workable plan, suited to local conditions and capable of experimental trial. There is nothing whatever to be gained of this date by disquisitions on the abstract desirability, of the change. It is the concrete proposals for experiments that are needed if discussion is to be really profitable, and in such proposals much attention must be given to the financial question.

We turn to the question of India council reforms, on which we commented earlier. That body is intended to be a group of expert advisers to the Secretary of State, who will almost invariably be a Minister possessing no direct knowledge of India, and who, ever if like Lord Crewe, he has visited India

cannot possess anything but a superficial and external knowledge of Indian administration. It is guzed that the council should be put on and elective basis. We can discover not a single should argument for the proposal. Suppose it to be adopted. The members elected would doubtless be Indian publicists of high standing, men whose ability and character justly command respect, in the Legislative Councils in India, but men with no experience of the higher administrative responsibilities such men could only supply the Secretary of state with advice of the kind be already receives in abundance indirectly from the Imperial Legislative Council, and in other ways, as from the Press in this country. They could not unable him to appreciate the force of some administrative argument used by the Government of India as men who have actually directed the machinery of administration. They could not remedy just those inevitable defects in the Secretary of State's knowledge which the India council is supposed to remedy. There is another objection. Present members of the India Council are not persons with a mandate from electors. Elected members would have such a mandate, they would claim that they represented, if not the people of India, at any rate the educated minority, and seeing that the Secretary of State is responsible only to Parliament and has the right of consulting the India Council much or little as he chooses, there would inevitably be frictions.

But we need not labour the point, for the proposal to make the India council an elected body is half-hearted. It is put forward only because it is felt that abolition is unlikely to be brought about. The real demand is that the Council be abolished. Not long ago we hinted more than once that the council has so much declined in usefulness, so far as we would judge that unless reform of some kind could be effected, the desirability of abolishing the council would become deserving of serious consideration.

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R^e^forms, however, has come, and one of the most valuable features in the new scheme is that numbers are to be specially attached to particular departments. It will be recallected that an exception is made in the case of Indian Members for the obvious reason that at present it is not easy to point to Indians with sufficient experience inactual administration. Elected Indians would be even more likely to be exampted, or let us rather say debared, from that special work. The India council must in the main, he composed of official experts, but as time goes on and a larger proportion of Indians rise to very high places in the administration, that will not militate against their claims.

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6-1-1914.
Madras Mail.

"...E INDIAN PERIL"

We reproduce today the first of the articles in the ...es dealing with what their author calls "The Indian ...il" This first instalment of his study of Indian unrest ... almost entirely devoted to a recited of the benefits ... British Rule. It may seem a curious beginning for ...h a series of articles but we think we understand the ...ters reason for thus entering or his subject. If we ... not mistaken he wishes to drive home the fact that the ...eficient character of British Rule has not been and ...not be a complete safeguard ~~xxx~~ against dangerous discon-...t. It may as it has done secure for the British Raj ... respect of the great mass of the peoples of India ... the active support of soul of the best elements in the ...lation; but there will nevertheless he was there are ...e who declare that good Government is no substitute for ... Government in the fullest sense and those who are the ...ies of all lawfull autority. In other words there wil ...ys he Indians we cannot be satisfied with anything less ... autonomy within the Empire and others who have ...chist leannings. It would of course be abused to ...me that the former are disloyal. No doubt some of those ... talk only of autonmy with in the Empire security cherish ...her ambition, involving the use of colonial self Govemment ... starting point for colonial self Government as the ...ting point for seperation. The bulk of those who press ... colonial self Government however are doubtless quite ...stly convinced that in time its establishment would be ...ible without serious detriment to either the welfare ...ndia on the Imperial connection. Hoever we may differ ... their we have neither the right nor the desire to ...rd them as the enemies of the British Raj; but we must ...ny consideration of "the Indian peril" take some account ...he dangers their policy may create.

Any one who carefully examines the political history of India within the last few years will feel obliged to admit that at some point the Ext remists and Anglo Indian critics have meet in a very curious way. The latter so far as they belong to the older school, have been work to insist on the impossibility of establishing the institutions of western liberalism in the East. They have pointed to the unreality of much of the progress that is supposed to have been made in that direction, and in their criticisms there has been a large measure of truth. T ime was when the whole body of educated Indians replied to such criticism with a complete denial. Later on we saw some able and ~~xxxdi~~ can did men prepared to admit ~~xxxx~~ certain points in the indictment but pleading very reasonably for more time. Then there arose the extremists who scoffed almost some Anglo Indian critics had done at a movement which had barrowed a few rather shop soiled ideas from British Liberalism. They , too pointed to much that was ~~in real~~ unreal in the boasted progress of the movement. But whereas Anglo Indian critics had drawn the inference that authority must remain almost entirely in British hands the Extremists argued that it should pass into the hands of Indians and would if they who strong enough to seize it instead of discoursing on the application of an exotic liberalism to Indian affairs. Thus those arose a crisis in which it seemed that the Moderates might be squeezed out of Indian politics altogether bearning the Government balked by Anglo Indian opinion and consideraative Indians against an extremist force including the majority of educated Indians xof the younger generation. Had that happened there could have been no compromise. Most fortunately a great calamity was ~~quoted~~ averted. On the one hand a series of reforms of a most generous character followed by the

and unprecedented action of the King Emperor in visiting India rallied the Moderates. On the other hand, the atrocities out rages associated with the Extremist policy shaked and alinated many Indians who had been ~~bearing~~ leaning towards the new school. The Moderates were wenabled to show the solid ~~months~~ results of what had been contemptuously and unfailry described as a policy of mandicarcy, where as the Extremists could only point to results which filled the mass of their fellow country men with shame. The situation was saved.

But as we pointed out at the time it was optimistic folly to suppose that the reforms or the increased prestige of the Moderates on even the Roayal visit could wholly and permanently eliminated the Extremist element from Indian politics. We recollect saying on more than one occasion t that the irreconcilables were a permanent factor and so they have ~~paved~~ proved. They have had a very severe set back and that is all. Now in the light of the events which we have outlined above., it is very clearly necessary to prevent the Extremists from ever again getting into so strong a position against the Moderates as they occupied in 1906 09- So much everyone will admit. The question is how the ~~direct~~ object is to be achieved without creating danger in other ways. The most obvious policy would be one of such concessions to the constitutional agitation of the Moderates as would enable them at short interests to point to the results of their methods as much greater than anything achieved by attacks on the Government. But it is evident tha there must be many reservation any plea for such a policy. In the first place it has to be considered whether the provable less of administrative efficiency can be outweighed by the political considerations. Secondly it has to be ponde ered whether the power given away in this, manner is liable to be seized later on by the Extremists. The first

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point we will not now dwell upon. The second happens to be very pertiment at a time when representative moderates are bringing the destruction of the safeguards created by the Press Act. These estimable gentlemen seem to be incapable of seeing a yard ahedd of them or they would realise that the liberation of the Extremist Press could only result in some weakening of their own influence. That apart it is difficult to discuss their plea with patience for which they lawent that the whole Press is gagged certain journals in India continue to publish matter which on the most favourable view is extremely a crimmomons and disingeneous criticism of the Government and two or three occasionally venture with impunity to debate on the alleged hostility of the white races to Asiatics in terms calculated to create dangerous feeling in India. But we must not expect our appreciation of these facts from persons who having got by rote some somorous platitudes about the freedom of the Press cannot be restrained by commonsense regard for circumstances from rolling them out on the slightest pretext. That is the trouble with some of the Moderates. Reform for reform's sake is too much their creed. They do not perceive that hosty advance in certain directions would be dangerous to tranquility or that over eloquent dissertations on the alleged reactionary character of the bureaucracy is apt to create a mood in which their policy will be less favoured by educated India than that of the declared enemies of the Government. Broadly speaking the situation at the present moment is not discouraging i It needs very careful watching, but the situation in India will always need that.

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9-2-1914.

INDIAN CHIEFS CONFERENCES.

When Imperial India came into being in the latter half of the seventies under the auspices of Mr. Disrach doubts were expressed in political circus about the admisability of associating the ruling princes with the central Administration for a variety of reasons which need not be recalled today. Lord Lytton's comprehension proposals, which included a college of Heraldry as well as an admiraby council, were considerably curtailed by the Home Government who however, did not object to the bestowal of some honrary appointments in the Army the distribution of titles and the gift of gorgeons banners, emblazoved with the arms of the recipients. He was disappointed and so were the chiefs, that fuller use was not made of an opportunity for strengthening the partnership between then and the crown, as the council did not progress beyond the academic stage, and nothing further was heard of it until the temporary revived of the idea during the discusion of the Morley-Minto reforms. But to the Viceroy of the older era belongs the credit of having perceived that in the rulers of Fedatory India the Administration had a valuable asset if some means could be divised for xxxx its use in the general Government of the country, while his latters to the queen showed the keen interest his proposals had aroused among him.

During the years that have ~~clapped~~ elapsed since the proclamation Durbar of the seventies opportunities have been used as they occured for enlisting the cooperation of the states, and by encouraging their Rulers to pay unofficial vists to the Viceroy at Delhi of Simla for the exchange of views on matters of interest to them which can be discussed with

greater freedom by this means than through the medium of deapatches Lord Minto's circular letter to the principal Rulers, regarding the suppression of the revolutionary propaganda of a few years age, elicited replies which were remountable proffs of the depth of their devotion to the crown while his public statement of the policy that should govern the relations between them and the King Emperor's representative was greatly appreciated by all the Durbars as a charter of administrative autonomy equivalent to the conclusion of a new Treaty. The assurances then given have been carefully observed by his successor who gave a practiced repetition of them in his remarkable speech at Alwar, where he ended his winter itinery a few weeks ago. The sentiments in that oration were addressed to the Rajput chief but they were intended for the whole of protected India which said Lord Hardinge, "shares with me and my Government and the Governments of the various provinces the responsibility of maintaining peace, order and justice throughout this great peninsula and of grinding the destinies and fastering the happiness and prosperity of its peoples". This is a striking elaboration of Lord Curzon's recognition of the Princes as "colleagues and partners" as it raises them to the position of co-operative factors in the general administration of the country, and is therefore a distinct advance from the old system which tolerated their methods, of governing as object lessons in the advantages of British Rule.

But Lord Hardinge has not limited this partnership to verbal appreciations of its value as he has initiated a scheme for holding periodical conferences at which matters interesting to protected India can be discussed and recommendations may be made to the supreme Government in support of the views elicited at these representative assemblages. The first of these meetings was summoned last

year and was opened by the viceroy in person in an explanatary address ~~and~~ of the reasons for the new policy, where in it was stated that it would be followed by other requests for coalition if the results justified a further expansion of the idea of associating the chiefs with the consideration of questions upon which their advice would be useful. It may be assumed that the first experiment was satisfactory, as it was announced a few days ago that there is to be a second conference in Delhi next month which will give the viceroy an opportunity of making a public appreciation of the value of his unofficial colleagues as a consultative body having the status of an advisory council without its disadvantages. In this connection reference may be made to Mr. Montagu's Budget speech wherein (doubtless with ~~with~~ the approval of the Veicroy) be said that these conferences are to be held periodically "at Delhi and simla as a means of giving the Ruling princes opportunity of meeting one another and discussing alternations in customs practice and rule". For the present the subject underdeliberation is the expansion of Higher education among the pupils of the form colleges known as the Indian etors. The curriculum at these admirable institutions does not provide for post graduate study and it is intended to meet this defeat by establishing a college at which more advanced forms of instruction will be available for these desiring to be well equipped for their future careers. The major portion of the funds for the erection and endowment of the new academy will be found by the chiefs but the government of India will also he contributors as they are closely interested in the effiecient training of these young men apparent as well as the scons of the aristocratic familieis who are admitted to these exclusive centres of learning. The scheme is said to be ready for submission to a representative gathering of the chiefs and will probably he passed at next month's conference

and sent up to the Government of India for execution. ~~exhibition~~.

It will rest with the Viceroy whether any other questio besides the educational one shall be debated at the forthcoming gatherng but there is naturally a strong desire on the part of the princes to have a fuller recognition of their utlity as unofficial councillors. Though there has been no pronouncement from the Government of India on the point Mr. Montagu allusion to the subject may be interpreted as meaning that these conferences are to become a permanent feature of the Administration. And at the opening of last years proceedings by the Viceroy ~~an~~ the Maharajah Scindia speaking on behalf of his co-rulers expressed a hope that the policy signified by the gathering would not be limited to Educational affairs but might be extended to all questions in ~~with~~ which the states are interested as subordinate allies of the crown and pillars of the Empire they are pledged to support under all circumstances. We shall probably hear more about this suggestion at the forthcoming conference if the viceroy is disposed to favour the idea of closer co-operation with the rulers of Protected India, who have as great a state in the future of the country as the educated classes who want expansion in self Government simulataneously examinations, reductions in the strength of the British personnel and a variety of cognate concessions upon which the Islington commission will presently give its findings. Fendatory India has not been consulted about any of these proposals though it probably has views which would be worth hearing as a counterpoise to the volume of testimony collected by the public service Enquiry. We do not suggest that these matters should be included in the programme for next month's conferen[illegible] the relative situations of British and protect[illegible] will doubtless be taken into consideration

Report is under examination, for the interests of the two are indissolbly linked as affirmed in the Viceroy's speech at Aliwar and by his decision to summon the chiefs to Delhi for periodical consultations.

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3-3-1914.

INDIANS IN THE STRAITS.

An interesting controversy has been proceeding recently in the columns of the straits Times one side protesting against the way Indians are flocking into all clerical and subordinate official appointments in the strait settlements and the Federated Malay straits and calling upon the Government to stop this influx unless the supply of local labour is less than the demand. The mercantile community in the straits discounterances the employment of Indians in its offices and it is suggested that the Government should take a leaf out of its book. On the other side, it is pointed out that a Government Regulation exists giving preference other things being equal to the sons of the soil for such appointments and if in the face of this Indians are monopolising them the only conclusion that can be arrived at is obvious namely that the easy going people of the country do not take the trouble to qualify for the appointments. It seems to us that if the suggestion is acted on we will be having reproduced in these colonies a condition of affairs similar to that now existing in South Africa. The Indian is welcomed and valued as an agricultural labourer but discouraged the moment he turns to some other occupation or profession and begins to compete with the local inhabitants. That there is a chance of a reactionary policy being adopted by the Government is possible from a statement made by one of those taking part in the controversy. He says that the colonial secretary has taken steps to exclude from Government service all Indians who have not been born and educated locally. We cannot believe however that this is altogether true in view of the fact that

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thiis altogether true, in view of the fact that the annual Administration Reports of most of the Departments but particularly that of the Surveyon General of the Federated Malay states are filled with complaints regarding the difficulty of getting labour.

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16-3-1914.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

If, as there is reason to believe the forecast of the "Times" regarding the Report of the Indian commission in South Africa is correct a great step forward has been taken towards the settlement of difficulties there. The commission, we are told by the Cape Town correspondent o of the "Times", is unanimous in recommending the abolition of the £3 tax and the solution of the marriage difficulty. We earnestly hope that the south African Gpvernment will accept the recommendations of the commission on these points. As has often been pointed out in these columns the £3 tax was an indefensible measure. To a great extent too, it was a futile measure, so far asx its real object went it was of little effect and from a revenue point of view it was of course of no importance. It had ins hort all the defects of a bad tax in that it caused an amount of irri-tation wholly disproportionate to its efficacy as a check and to its yield to the Excehquer. The marriage difficulty was created by the prepasterous judicial decision that marriages contracted under a system which permitted polygamy were necessarily polygamous. As we remarked at the time if the South African authorities had been students of Indian census figures they would have known that so far as the masses of the Indian population were in question polygaming was ext remely rare. That apart all the authorities in South Africa had to do was to consider facts in South African and not the possibilities of Indian marriage systems. ~~Ixx~~ If a marriage was in a fact manoganous the possibility of polygamy under the system under which it was contradicted ought not to have

counted for anything ~~loyally~~ legally. The difficulty is now to be removed in a simple and sensible way if the commission's report be followed by the Government in their legislation. One wife will be recognised legally in south Africa but there will be no interference with the liberty of Indians to take other wives and the fact that an Indian has made use of such liberty will not affect recognition of the first marriage.

The welcome settlement which now seems to be near at hand is creditable to all concerned. We were among those who criticised the composition of the commission and with reason in view of the reputation of two of its members. but if the forecast in the "Times" is accurate the Commission has shown an honourable freedom from prejudice. We learn too with great pleasure that Sir Benjamin Robertson's work~~er~~ as the delegates of the Government of India is regarded as having been "invaluable". Certainly a peruaal of his evidence showed us that he had put the Indian case with much ability and discretion. We believe that considerable credit may also be claimed for the British Press and for a courageous section of the Press in South Africa, of the effect of the representatives of Indians public men notably of Mr. Gokhale at various stages of the controversy it is hardly necessary to say anything. Everyone must have been impressed by their earnestness and almost invariable moderation. If the outcome is such as we hope we India must be careful not to claim it as a victory over the South African Government In Imperial affairs there ought to be no counting of scares for and against particular parts of the Empire but a serious and patient effort to promote agreement and co-operation, and success in that endeavour ought to be reckoned, not as victories for any section but as triumphs of the common cause.

6-4-1914.

INDIAN EMIGRATION TO JAMAICA.

7 One of the brown colonies which employs Indian indentured coolies to supply the ~~delivering~~ deficiency of labour required for the development of industries dependent on steady and continuous work such as the indigenous population is agerse to and the Indian cooly from his habits and his methods of life is so peculiarly fitted for is Jamica. Although the introduction of the East Indian labourer into the colony began so long ago as 1845 it was not till 1891 after streneous but fruitless efforts had been made to attract local labour, and other measures taken for improving the labour supply, that Indian immigration was put on the footing on which it is now run. Owing to plague in India, however it was stopped in 1897 and was not reopened till 1899 after another fruitless attempt in the interval to get the indigenous population to engage. In 1902 yet another effort to attract native labour was made, with the same result and emigration from India to Jamaica has since hanging on without interruption the East Indian population in the island at the time of the last census in 1910, numbering about 18,000.

Hitherto, Jamaica of an employer of Indian coolies had no special interest for people in the Madras Presidency as all the coolies going there have gone only from upper India calcutta being the port of embarkation. But it has now been arranged for Madras to share with calcutta in supplying them and coolies in this Presidency seeking work in the colonies have thus another field added to the list. By an arrangemmnt recently arrived at between the British colonies taking indentured labour

from India, Jamaica like Fiji and Ninidal and British G Ginana will in future get its coolies from Madras as well as Calcutta and by a simulataneous reorganisation of the colonial Immigration service in India all those four colonies are now represented in Madras by a joint agency of which the gentleman appointed by the Secretary of state for the colonies to fill the post Mr. C.W. Doorly of the colonial civil service assumed charge in December last. No Madras coolies have as yet been sent to Jamaica by the reorganised agency but probably it will not be long before the first batch will be going. The inauguration of emigration from Madras to what to the cooly population of this part of the country is a 'terra in cognita' devolves as a gentleman who hails from Jamaica itself and is familiar with the conditions of Indian emigrant life there for Mr. Doorly has come here direct from the appointment. which he was holding of protector of Immigrants there,

The latest Annual Report of the Immigration Department in Jamaica for the year ended the 31st March 1913 has just been received in India and there is much interesting information to be gleaned from it. During the year the number of indentured immigrants was 1,985 and the number repatriated 331, making the total estimated East Indian population at the end of the year 20,000 of whom the number order indenture was 4,152 of the 331 repatriated 135 were granted free passages after ten years' residence in the colony and 78 assisted passages, 95 were sent back as unfit for further service, 8 were persons who were rejected on arrival, and 15 who paid their own passages. Thirty three immigrants were released from Indenture on the ground of ill health nine on the ground

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that they were useless as agricultureal labourers and nine committeed their indenture by money payments to employers in respect of the unexpired periods of thier indentured service. No time expired immigrant applied to enter into any contract for service in the island. "There has not been a single case of an immigrant reindenturing himselg during the twenty two years I have been in this Department, "Says, Mr. Doorly, the writer of the Report, from which fact considered together with the fact that the proportion of Indians who return to India is so small as it is it may reasonably he inferred that the cooly who goes to Jamaica finds himself better off there than he would be in India. As a matter of fact the immigrants who after the expiration of their indentures settledown in the colony, and who from the larger and are a growing section of the East Indian population are well of judging by other statistics which are given in the Report. As in the other crown colonies which import Indian indentured labour, they are generally cultivators and a large member our property. Some are engaged in trade and there are 356 retail shopkeepers and 82 dealers in spirits 91 had gun licenses and 6 were licensed hawkers. Several also hold line stock valued at £10167 We also gather that 1,411 immigrants had at their credit in the Government savings bank during credit in the Government savings Bank during the year under report £17,536 against the year 1,239 and £15,117 the corresponding figures for the preceding year, while many others figures for [torn] ceding yea while many others made

substantial remittances to India or brought the money back with them. In the matter of education, 453 boys and 272 girls were attending school out of 915 boys and 920 girls of school age within reach of school. The number of the immigrants undergoing imprisonment on the 31st March,1913 was small. The protector of Immigrants reports a considerable reduction in the percentage of cases brought against indentured im migrants for breaches of the Immigration laws.

We have reserved the important matter of work and wages for the last. A detailed statement is attached to the Report in which are shown the average earnings of indentured immigrations on each estabe in the Colony and the weekly average for the whole island works out as follows, for 1912-13 . Men6s. 4½d., women 5s. A new law which was passed during the year amending the Immigration protection and Regulation law 1879 provides as follows:- Na rate of task work for immigration indentured after the coming into operation of this Law shall be approved unless it is sufficient to afford to able bodied trained male of 18 years of age on upwards at least 1s. 6d. a day for a fair day's work of nine hours with ordinary exertion." Although this enactment applies only to immigrants introduced after the passing of the Law the Protector of Immigrants declares that it is certain that it will also brave the effect of increasing the earning capacity of immigrants already in the island."

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5-5-1914.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The full text of the Report of the Indians Enquiry Commission has now reached us. The recommendations of the commissionhave already been published in our columns and it will not be necessary to say very much about them. The Report, however deals at some length with the allegations of brutality in handling the strike and these passaged demand attention on a careful consideration of conflict between the strikers and the authorities in the light of all the official and other information available, we are now prepared to say that on the whole the authorities did not act with avoidable harstness. We do not think however that the Commission is justified inexpressing itself in the sweeping terms of its report on this part of the enquiring. Under Mr. Gandhi's advice which we regretted Indians stood aloof from the enquiry and consequently there was no real case against the authorities. It appears probable that it Indians had come forward to give evidence the verdict of impartial critics would on the whole have been favourable to the authorities for except on the occasion of the second conflict on the Road from Hillhead to Balck burn, when use of fire arms was clearly premature, the Police seem to have done no more than was necessary in self defence. But the fact remains that one side of the case was not presented and it would have been better for the commission to have refrained from a positive finding merely indicating the probabilities. We must add that as we said at the time, the violent action of some Indians strikers was indirectly due to the arrests which deprived them of labour ~~counsel~~ calmer and authoritative leadership. That does not justify their conduct but it goes far towards explaining it and it should

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protect the leaders from any duggestion of having initiated a movement bound to result in rioting.

We pass to the statement of the causes of the strike. The main grievances as represented by Mr. Gandhi were:- (1) The Orange Free state question (ii) the Cape Colony question; (iii) The marrigge question; (iv) the £3 tax; (v) the administration of Lawa applying to Indians. The first two matters ~~thx~~ are of very little practical importance. The Orange Free state Law needs to be modified so as to accord with practice to the advantage of a small member of educated Indians there. As for the cape the new Law requires the passing of an educational test which is incontravention of the understanding between General ~~Statements~~ Smutts and Indians, but the Commission regards this grievance as nominal in practice and there is therefore no recommendation of change. The marriag question and the £ 3 tax are of course very much more important. These are in fact the grievance which drove Indians into opposition and they need discussion at length, with reference to the Commission's proposals for reform. The former difficulty become acute when the Natal courts held that the words" Lawful and manogamous marriage" in section 5 of the Act of 1913 included only such marriages as were valid in South Africa. ~~That ruling we have always condemned as~~ prepos~~itions~~ favours on a narrowly technical view the commission may be justified in finding excuse for it in the fact the Act does not refer specifi~~ed~~ cally to Asiatics but ~~it~~ is a general Act; but it is a plain that such an interpsetation defeated the intention of the Legislature. The mere fact that a marriage is under a religious social system tolerating polygaming does not make it in fact polygamous. So far as the great majority of Indians in south Africa are concerned, there has been no demand for the recognition of several ~~views~~ wives.

Indians have accepted the principle that only one wife to each Indianx shall be admisable to South Africa. The objection has been to refusal of admission to one wife who was to be the only wife in South Africa, on the ground that there were actually or under the marriage system might be other wines in India. Exception should however be made of a very few cases in what Indians long resident in South Africa and having more than one wife have in practice in Natal been allowed to let their womenfolk got India and claim readmission. This concession was made eccasionally until seven on eight years ago, and the commission very properly admits that it should be revived. It cannot upon the door of polygamy for it, relates only to those who enjoyed the privilege in the past a small and diminishing number. It is however, necessary to establish identity and for this purpose to registration is recommended.

Another important point is that of provision for the delebration of Indian marriages in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi desired their legislation by the appointment of marriage officers for different denominations. But it is plain that if a marriage were contracted before such an officer it would necessarily be according to south African law or manogamous and there appear to be some religious objections by Indians to what would seem the discarding of religious sanction for polygamous marriage. At any rate the commissioners have not seen fit to adopt Mr. Gandhi's suggestion. They have found a better method that of leaving Indians to contract marriages before their own Priests and providing for the recognition of de factos monogamous marriages by registration. Ofcourse it would have been simpler and have given less trouble to Indians if a Law had been passed validating all defacts monogamous marriages and not requiring

registration. But, for one thing it is necessary to have reliable and easily obtainable proof of the celebration of such marriages in case of dispute. For another thing since South African Law. can not give its sanction to polygamy it is necessary to insist on validated defects monogamous marriages involving all the consequences of ordinary marriages under South African Law that is less of liberty to contract polyamous marriages subsequently.xxx But if all defects monogamous marriages were validated without formality, Indians would be placed in the dilama of choosing between less of the liberty their own system gives them and loss of the advantages afforded by recognition of a monogamous marriage. On the system proposed by the commission Indians will be able to elect whether or not they will come under the proposed L aw. ~~They will not by coming under the proposed Law.~~ They will not by coming under it lose the religious social right their own system gives them to contract a second and polyamous union though to course that will not be recognised by South African Law.

As for the £ 3 licenses on tax it is disputable which it really is its abolition has been generally regarded by fair minded people as essential to any settlement of the Indian question. The Commissioners remark.---" In the case of the indentured labourer himself there is much force in the contention that he expressely agreed to pay the tax before he was allowed to settle in the country; but this argument cannot be heard in regard to their children". They pointout that everyone considers women should be exempted from the tax and they remark that out of 54,000 men in Natal only some 10,000 are liable to it adding that it had to be taken out as a rule by those least able to afford it.

What is more, it is actually collected from only about a third of those who are liable. The report is more liberal towards Indian cause than high Law expected.

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29-5-1914.

INDIANS IN THE EMPIRE.

The fate of the Indian immigration on the Japanese steamer "Kamagata Maru" with which the canadian authorities on dealing is in suspense but there cannot be much doubt about the immediate outcome. With the exceptions of a few who have special claims to admission, the Indians will be excluded on one ground or another. Whatever our feelings here in India may be we must recognise that no other course is open to the canadian authorities in view of the attitude of the general public in the Dominions and especially in British Columbia. The people are unamimous in demanding exclu sion and their wishes will prevail. It would appear that expr expression has been given to the popular view in very strong terms and in at least one case in violent and reckless language. The Victoriax Times has declared that for economic reasons Indians must be excluded even if that means the loss of India to the Empire. This is the kind of retorical intolerance in which some colonial papers indulge too freely without pausing to think whether the loss of India is involved in immigration disputes or to estimate what so great a catastrophe would mean. But such flinging about of wild words does not much matter. The sober opposition to Indian immigration is dxq so strong at the present time because it is well understood that the endeavour to secure admission for the "Komoagala Marris" passengers is a deliberate dxx endeavour to raise a test case and it is this opposition that we have to consider.

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The right of canada on of any other dominion or unit of the Empire to restrict immigration is indispnotable. As we have often pointed out before, there is no such thing as Imperial citizenship though appeals are often enough made to it in controversies of this kind. The one night which every British subject has simply as such, is the right of protection by the crown against foreign Powers and their nationals. Every obher right enjoyed by a British subject in the Empire dirives either from principles universally applied by citilised states to people sojourning within their bonders or from acts of the local Legislatures Such being the position we cannot discover violation of Imperial obligations in checks placed on immigrants who are British subjects; but it may rightly be demanded that Indians who are already settled in any of the self governing Dominions shall not be deprived of existing privileges and that as regards immigrants those who are British subjects shall not be worse treated then those who are not. In the case of canada there is some ground for complaint that those conditions are not fully satisfied. We are therefore prepared to press for the strcit observance of the former principle that Indians already settled in Canada shall not be subjected to any peculiar hardship on interference. In regard to the second principle, it is obvious that insistence on the continuous passage rule theoretically applicable to all races, bears more hardly on Indians than on the Japanese and Chinese for there is no regular service of vessels, between India and canada. This point may be seized on by those who so choose but for our part we decline to make much of it. It is something that the

form which restriction takes is not hurtful to Indian self respect since it does not single out Indians from other immigrants. In practical working the continuous passage clause does specially affect our Indian fellow subjects but if the object of the Canadian Legislature is to exclude them, as it is any change would only be for the worse. So long therefore as Canadian opinion remains what is now is there is nothing to be gained by agitating against the continuous passage condition.

That the exclusion of Indians from the Dominion constitutes any great hardship for the people of this country generally cannot be believed. It is only those already settled in the Doninions and their near relations in India, who may desire to join them who can have cause for serious complaint of practical hardship. But what India generally resents is the implication that she has an inferior status in the Empire, that her susceptibilities need not be carefully considered because she is not a self governing Dominion here we are in the closest sympathy with Indian feeling. The Englishmen who as an official on as a critic of affairs has given his best years to India has often smarted personally as he encountered in some other part of the Empire the airy assumption that this great country containing roughly three out of every four of the King's subjects, with its historic past its great problems, its unquestionably important future part in the world's affairs, can be lightly set aside. But the question is whether India's best way towards securing due recognition of her status is through quarrels with the Dominions over Immigration Laws or through internal development to an obviously higher position. ~~To our mind at~~

~~at to an obviously higher position~~. To our mind at least there is injustice to Indians already in the Dominions or where offensive restrictions on immigration can be replaced by measures equally effective and less wounding to Indian susceptibilities, it is only proper that we sheuld strike vigorously to bring about reform. But these who challenge the right of the dominions to exclude immigrants cannot effect any good. Their zeal for the uplifting of India in the ages of the rest of the Empire should be directed elsewhere. It should find scope in the less exciting but very much more useful work of gradually bringing India to a lend not identical with but equal to that of the Dominions. There is a measure of wisdom in the middirected movement for colonial self government" It is not self Government of that type that India needs but a caustious advance towards Government in accordance with the desires of the dwellers in India a wider term than Indians through the existing system. In our view the release of India from the fetters of a cobderism which scarcely anyone in this country approves, and the development of reciprocity in defence between India and the Dominions would do far move for the dignity of India her influence in the Empire than any amount of endeavours to secure admission into Dominions which have barred their doors. An India free to contract preferential trade relations with the Dominions and associated with than in defence would be their equal without passessing their form of Government.

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16-6-1914.

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

The report of the Madras board of Revenue on Emigration and Immigration for the year 1913 is interesting in view of the attention that the question of emigration has aroused in recent years in connection with the shortage of labour in this Presidency. More than a decade ago the Tanjore District Association called upon the Government to restrict emigration be cause the shortage of agricultural labour was even then being severely felt. The planters of Southern India would have been glad to have supported such a request only that they knew that there was little chance of the Government acceding to any such request in the absence of very decided proof that the emigrants were not being properly treated in the lands to which they went. Since then emigration to Natal has been stopped and to that extent there should be some relief in the labour market. That there is not is scarcely to be wondered at. Regulated emigration although it did remove a large number of labourer for long periods in some cases for ever was unimportant compared with the unregulated emigration that now takes place to the straits settlements Ceylon and Burma.

Now that Natal has been forced out of the field the most extensive regulated emigration finds its way to Fiji. no less than 2,202 emigrants having been shipped to that colony during the year compared with 2,546 in the previous year. ~~compared with 2,546 in the privious year~~ of whom 1,744 were men and 658 were women. Nothing is said in the Report regarding the condition of Indian labourers in that colony a matter that was so vehemently discussed last year on the report of a Missionary who had moved among the Indian labourers and published an account of his ~~own~~ impressions in a Calcutta paper.

His description if uncontradicted was suffieinet to condemn the whole system roof and branch and to call for drastic measures of reform. It is only fair to state, however that the other side of the question put a very different complexion on affairs. We published ourselves a rejoinder which certainly was a very satisfactory refutation of the alarming story first circulated. Since then the subject has cropped up more than once but we believe that the Governments of Madras and Bengal must be satisfied otherwise we must have had some action from them. It is unlikely also, that the decrease in emigration during the year was in any degree attributable to the chosures disclosures made at the ~~time~~ time.it is far more probable that it was due to the ordinary fluctuations of supply and demand. One of the most serious complaints made by the Missionary alone referred to was that member of women who were sent to Fiji was so small that it resulted in a serious lowering of morality. We gather from the Report under review however that in each shipment of labourers to the Fiji islands the proportion of men to women is fixed and that this proportion was practically maintained as far as south India was concerned. There was a bad out break of cerebro spinal meningists in the Madras Deport for Fiji which resulted in 24 deaths; If we remember correctly this was a disease which was frequently imported into Natal with Indian coolies until that Government had a spcial enquiry made and took considerable pains to step it. The only other place to which there was regulated emigration during the year was British Giuana but it was comparatively small only 64 individuals being shipped 47 men and 17 women. There was no emigration to Mauritries and seychelles or Trimidad during the year and

none to the French colonies. But 1,192 emigrants returned from Natal, 216 from Mauritnes and 125 from Fiji.

As regards non-regulated emigration no less than 117,783 individuals went to the straits during the year as compared with 107,842 during the year as compared with in the previous year and 190,059 to Ceylon as compared with 183,002; while Burma took 130,725 as compared with 111,610. It is diffacult in these cases to discriminate between emigrating labourers and ordinary passengers but as regards the straits settlements and Ceylon one may well assume that the bulk of them are labourers attracted to the plantations. It is when we regard these figures that we realise how serious is the competition that is now taking place for planting labour., and we are not surprised that the United Planters Association of South Indian has at last decided to start our organisation that will enable it among other things to compete on more or less equal terms with two such powerful rivals. According to the most recent information on the subject this movement has not yet received the minimum amount of support laid down as a 'sinequanon' to enable the Labour Department to start as intended on the 1st July. It is possible, however, that the deficit may be made it in the breif period that intervenes, on that in order to prevent much valuable work being wasted, a start may be made, with the support that has been promised by that date. There is alive or two in the Report under notice that should be a source of comfort to the planting community of Southern India. The considerable increase in the number of persons who have returned from Ceylon is ascribed to the rise of wages period locally to

~~to~~ the cooly population. This is one of the directions in which it is hoped that the experienced staff of the U.P. A.S.I. Labour Department will be able to afford considerable assistance, ~~rarely~~ namely, in showing the labouring population that it is quite possible to secure adequate wages and considerate treatment much nearer home.

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516/RI/84
386/RI/85
1269/RI/85
1221/RH
15-10-211/RH
9-11-16/RH